Wa

622 Ama Hurint — Head: Man called from Ia or Ib.
624 Feet: Man called from IIa or IIb.
614 Cut: Man from Hurint, except
796 Nipatale.
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231 Lewato — Head: Man from IVa.
Feet: Man from IVb.
Cut: Man called from Ama Hurint, except Nipatale.

Lewodoreng — Head: Man from Va.
Feet: Man from Vb.
Cut: Man called from Ama Hurint, except Nipatale.

If a kampong feast is held for all of the people, the setup is as follows:

Head: Man from Ama Radja (Ia).
Feet: Man from Subamaki(ng) (IIa).
Cut: Man from III, except Nipatale.

614 The Nipatale groups--in Wailolong they are
567 IIIa2 and IVa2; in Leloba IV-1b--are former
423 slaves, bought respectively by the Ama Hadumbole(ng)
582 Waru'i(ng), and Lewamaki(ng) amas. They have no
[796] ritual standing and they may never hold or cut. They just look on. Also, they have no land of their own, but use the land of their masters (i.e., the ama who bought their ancestors). They
● [753] must give the first fruits of their gardens to these masters, and if they do not they get sick. He says that they were bought from Adonara not long ago, perhaps about four generations. They are not really free yet. They must obey the orders of their masters. In ordinary life, however, this is a matter of adat and respect (hormat), and they are not ashamed. It is really a matter of (a) owning no land of their own; (b)

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443 basis. They obtain products by purchase in the backland and sell them in Ende. They also sell gewgaws which they bring along with them.

186 829 Interest in local, foreign or international news is at a very low level. They insist that nearly everyone here knows just about nothing in regard to anything outside of the kampong. They are even ignorant of Rewarangga.

614 621 They said that originally each kampong consisted of only one suku. Then others moved in. Thus, at one time Wawatonda was the kampong of suku Rewarangga. Then they came down to Worowai. Here today there is a rumah berhala, [764] but it is a mere bone-grave hut, like Odja in Roworeke.

Rabu is now in three kampongs. It was one at some former time. It is ten kilometers from here. This is the place where the original kampong of the Odja suku was located. But they have now lost contact, and indeed, so complete was the move to Roworeke that probably no Odja folk are left in Rabu today.

124 829 The kapitan said an interesting thing when I was pressing him to give information in this regard. He said that only since I came here had he learned very much about the culture and the past of Rewarangga.

778 614 346 764 These rumah berhala, with images and a real house, or merely with the grave-bone shrines, are suku shrines. There are four real rumah berhala houses in Rewarangga. These are as large as a real old style high roofed house, [753] and in them there are images (ana deo) and per- [782] haps bone bundles too. These run as follows: (and anyone who visits them and looks into them must leave an offering, for example, money or cigarettes, etc.; otherwise he may get sick):

1. Volofeo has a real house and in it there are four ana deo, wooden images. There are no bones. This house was used by all four suku

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346 614 778 764 here, and perhaps each ana deo is of one of the suku. They are uncertain about this, but thought that this was perhaps right. They did know that the house was used by all four suku. It is a kind of cooperative venture in the ancestor cult. They got together and built it. It is at kilometer 17, one kilometer's walk up.

2. Bu'ube'i, the most remote of the Rewarangga kampongs, is at kilometer 17 plus a ten kilometer walk. There is a real house there, but the kapitan does not know if there are any bones. They do not know what suku it belongs to. He was there, but was afraid to look inside. [753] [782] They fear illness. I asked why he didn't give a gift and thus insure his safety. He said it would be no use to take the chance. [152] Thus he is a Catholic and thus he fears both outside magic and ancestral ghosts at the same time. It does have an ana deo.

3. Ratebedi has an ana deo, and bones too. The suku is unknown. This is at kilometer 13 plus a four kilometer walk.

4. Vavoëü has an ana deo, but with no bones. The suku is unknown. It is at kilometer 13 plus a one kilometer walk.

All others have either nothing or merely a grave-bones shrine.

5. Worowai has a shrine of the suku Rewarangga.

6. Roworeke has a shrine of the suku Odja. It is in a section of Roworeke Asal.

7. Worowaku does not even have a shrine.

8. Arereke has a shrine of suku Urureva.

9. Pu'uperi has a shrine of suku Rea (a different suku from Reandona).

10. Information is lacking for Kekawi'i.

11. Koavena has a shrine of the Gusa suku.

12. Kekamberu does not even have a shrine.

13. Nioreko has a shrine, but the suku is

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784 dants of suku". (Evidently related to the
262 adat kepala kampong, the ata ngguäh nua ["man
614 suku descendants kampong."]) I must ask what
562 the suku membership variation in adat kepala kampong are; here he is an Odja. These taboos apply not to men nor to children of the suku but to women who marry into the suku only. This is very unusual, in ethnography. In the Odja suku these apply to the tomato, dog, eggs, and four other kinds of food. The males of Odja and the children may eat everything, but the wives may not. Thus if a Wanda woman marries into Odja, these are her taboos. If she eats
●[753] any of these, she gets terrible sores, and they always point to their arms, just as the Ambonese say that sores on their arms are caused by the same thing. The Wanda taboos are the tomato, eggs, a kind of maize (djagung Solor), and ripe coconut.

784 (2) Family or household taboos. These are
262 called pire sa'o teenda (sa'o teenda means
753 family). These are set by the father (and by
592 the mother too?) on all the members of the
614 household, including the man, wife and children. Thus the assistant had bad sores two years ago and asked the dukun why. The latter diagnosed the cause as buffalo meat (the horns stuck through the skin). Whereupon Migo declared that buffalo meat was taboo to himself, wife, and children. Such a taboo stays in the direct line (thus a kind of lineage totem) until some head of a line decided it is needed no longer, and then a feast is given together with an animal sacrifice to lift the taboo. Thus Migo
[773] has started a taboo, and perhaps fifty years hence, unless it is lifted, they will have a story in his family about the origin of the taboo. The suku taboos have more ancient legends to explain their origins. These taboos of household restrictions are thus a kind of assumed taboo.

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614 assumed taboo.
784 (3) Personal totem taboos. These apply to
262 individuals only, not to a wife or husband or
●753 child or anyone else. This is a kind of "allergy." These are pire se'imu (the latter term means "individual"). Thus the kapitan's wife got sores and decided (dukun consulted?) that it was because she had eaten buffalo meat. Now she eats none. If she wishes to lift her taboo, she must give a feast with animal sacrifice. The kapitan and his child may eat buffalo.

614 The kapitan's wife thus has the taboos of
784 the kapitan's suku and her own personal one
583 too. She was also of Odja, but until she mar-
562 ried did not have the Odja taboos. Migo's wife has Odja suku taboos (she was from the suku Wanda) and also Migo's household taboo. The kapitan has no taboos, but Migo has his household taboo. It is notable that if a man
[591] pays no bride price and lives matrilocally, his wife does not take on his suku's taboos, but assumes the taboos of the women who marry into her own sib. That is, she is a married woman, and thus must follow suku taboos. But since the bride price has not yet been paid she is not a member of her husband's suku, and so she merely takes on her own suku's taboos as though she were a woman married into her own suku. When the bride price is finally paid, she takes on her husband's suku's taboos, and of course they move into his house. Thus one can say that the totem of the suku hits women only, but only women married into the suku, not women of the suku. Lineage taboos are coming in all the time, and they apply to all household members and may pass on down from generation to generation. Personal taboos are for individuals only. This is queer, and I am sure that I have not yet got the whole story.

We. Today there are more meetings and greater
208 effort to get the opinions of the people. This
634 is especially so since this Radja came in about
178 eleven years ago. Formerly, the radja merely
663 ordered things to be done and paid no heed to
648 the local requirements, etc. Also, the radja gets around to more areas now. (We noted that the Radja is making a good-will tour, and probably all of them are scared of another Java.) He said that there is a much closer arrangement between the radja and the people now. Formerly the Dutch and the radjas worked together very closely, and anyone who spoke up was simply jailed. I can see this is as in Ende, and the Dutch here until the end used the jail as the solution for everything. They wouldn't listen to anything else. If the radja and Dutch work together the result is tyranny, and it is real here.

There is more justice here now, they say. They say this began about eleven years ago with the present Radja. But this may be out of respect, and they admit that the real change has taken place here since the war. The war really liberated Indonesia. There is no more use of brute force. People can speak up now.

789 We had a long talk about magical power. They
769 say that the power of the chiefs, from the radja
622 to the adat kepala kampong to the kepala suku to
● [153] the kelake, is all a matter of fear of ances-
[152] tral punishment. If they do not obey, they become sick and have misfortunes. The magical power comes mainly from the ancestral spirits, but it is funneled through the magic stones of authority too. The curse power of an adat chief is very great. The power of the purely administrative chiefs, for example, the kepala kampong, who does not deal with adat, and the kalang, is that of the police, etc. This is actually not so because all of the chiefs are of the proper succession. If they ever tried to put one in

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243 he came back, he at once made a sawah, and the
177 others saw that it was good. Now, everyone
788 plants at least one sawah. Formerly there were no sawah. This is an excellent case of acculturation via the hadj.

412 Formerly the people here did not use hoes
177 or shovels. These came in at the time of the Dutch entry. Before that they had an iron tipped digging stick only. There are no carts.
493 They thought about my proposal for a group to buy one as an investment for hiring. Perhaps there is too little money even to pay for a bicycle here.

352 There are no tables, chairs, or lamps, ex-
354 cept in rare houses like the kapitan's. The
178 only new thing is the kerosene wick, not the lamp. It is called pelita.

342 The house type has changed here from a
178 larger to a smaller structure, and many of the old style roofs are still to be seen.

291 Women now use bought cloth to make thin
178 kebaya. Formerly they made blouses of homespun, but these are all gone. Men and women still wear homespun sarongs. Men wear this alone and are usually bare above the waist. If a man wears a selendang, he is a big man. If he wears a shirt, this is really very slick attire. There were no shoes here at all before, and few now.

301 Men and women wore earrings before, the men
●753 ones of gold (look like silver) which the pagans still wear, and the women ones of a different
[304] style. The assistant's ears are pierced, but this is no longer done to the boys, only to the girls. Beads are worn by men and women on festive occasions. These are great ceremonial objects and are worn by the people who are proud of them. If one is not entitled to them, he will become sick if he wears a string of beads.

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778 753 The negri lama of the suku Odja is about one-half kilometer outside Ratebedi in the distant hills. No one lives there now, but there are stones, etc. (I think he said images too.) The Ratebedi folk give offerings there. This was the kampong of the great ancestor Odja Djata (the father of Odja was Djata). There are many such old places which are dangerous, for example, the assistant went to one such place near Pamudjera, and he got sick at once.

[764] There is always talk of danger in fooling around with old places and old rules. Thus, not long ago two men of Watu Roga set a stone boundary marker in the earth, but this is taboo. In three days one was dead and in three months the other died.

174 If I could get all of the information about each kampong and suku I could rebuild the whole history of migrations, etc. And although most of the people have lost these stories, there are a good number of old men in Volofea and Bu'ube'i who could tell everything.

115 The assistant says he will try to get information on all these things as he does his "control" work in his job as secretary of the gemeente. He asks for a good notebook and a briefcase to do this work! I don't trust him, that's all. He plots, and the story is that when I come back years from now he will have all the facts. Thus he put together my interest in these things, my statement that I might return to do more work here, and out of hopes to get a notebook and case fabricated his plan.

423 614 592 428 The land is family-owned (maybe lineage-owned is a better way of phrasing it). The eldest son is the manager of the family land. Others work on it. If there are no sons, the eldest daughter runs it, or maybe the deceased father's brother. The father may split up his estate among his sons, or give each one of his

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581 behavior. Looks are a mere by-matter. The same holds for women. They like good workers for husbands (men must keep at the gardens); and as far as I could see, that is about all. I wonder if men should be decent (I doubt that looks are thought of much if at all), as long as they work. These people are way beneath any aesthetic stuff in love (but it may be there in its own way!).

836 [848] They insist that there is not one case of a bastard in their memory. However, yesterday I got the impression that boys have a chance with, for example, widows sometimes. But evidently the girls just stay virgin. They hammer on this; it is and always was a one hundred per cent rule, and that a girl would try to fool on this is considered a terrific thought.

177 797 595 587 582 In the family the Catholics have tried to stop: (1) polygny (but this goes on), (2) levirate and sororate (but this goes on), (3) mother's brother's daughter marriage (they do this with more distant relatives in order to keep up the form). This is interesting.

789 753 [565] In regard to the nobility, I can get no reaction on ideas of magic power, and they say that even the Radja of Ende does not have any. They say that he is new anyway. He is just a big man from the Djari Djawa suku (but the radja must come from this, but I got the idea that Nggobe might get in too). I asked if maybe the mosa laki had any, and they said no. If they do not obey they just become angry, and it is better to stay on their good side as they control the land and they are the big men anyway. There is no magic punishment. Thus they are different even from Larantuka. The only things which have magic power are taboo places, for example, the rumah pemali, the grave-bone shrines, and the old ancestor places. Breaking such taboos can cause illness, and the

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789 unfulfillment of ancestral duties can cause ill-
•753 ness too (note the illness fear theme; this is just right for these folk who are ill a good deal of the time). But there is no real kekuatan adjaib here.

567 There were many slaves here before, and this
582 applies even to twenty years ago (this is
178 probably a bit too late, I think). The regular
565 thing was for the father of a girl to include
[583] in the return gift at marriage, two slaves (like the "and two persons" still used in the formula for the bride price among the Buginese). There are slaves in the kampong now, but he thinks that only about two to three per cent of the population are so categorized. They are, and were, taken into the suku, but formerly there was little intermarriage with them, and then it was only between a higher man and
[684] a slave girl. If the reverse took place, the death punishment could be meted out. The marriage taboo is still in, but it is lessening, and even a boy of slave descent (if he is an excellent man and a good worker) may marry a higher girl. However, they are well known, and in general are still to be classed underneath. For example, they have to do certain duties (the guru said they are like "servants"; he used the Dutch word "jongens"). They live in houses with regular people, or perhaps in their own houses. Everyone knows who they are, but no mention is made of this because they reportedly get furious. This is a thing worth investigating further: exactly what are the duties, and exactly how are they thought of and what do they think of themselves, etc.? (Remember that in the United States no one really thinks of taunting Negroes with an open charge of being descended from slaves.)

565 There are few possibilities for class mo-
555 bility. There are some meager beginnings at

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875 797 reason for this is that Mohammedans are not educated enough to have many teachers yet. Thus, the mission has given Catholicism a big head start, as is the case in Ambon.

771 797 There are only about ten Mohammedans in Roworeke. They had a mosque at kilometer five formerly, but it is gone now. The maximum number of converts in the kampong, to Mohammedanism, per year is from one to two. There is a chapel here, and the priest comes once a month to hear confessions, hold mass, etc. Otherwise, the people here go to Ndona for mass (I see them on Sunday walking; rain means nothing to these people). I get the impression that many people do not go to mass. For example, every Sunday I have been there, the kapitan and the assistant and many others do not go to church so far as I can see. And I don't see many women who look as though they had gone. I should have asked about this.

778 There are two ancestor grave-bone shrines, i.e., one in Roworeke and one in Watu Roga. There are also plenty of stones and the usual graves. There has never been a real rumah berhala here. But Manunggo'o had one.

527 [755] The principal feast time is at planting. The tuan tanah (mosa laki mere) must be there at that time. There is no illness exorcism feast held any more. Thanksgiving feasts for good crops are held privately, not communally. There is a great feast for rebuilding the grave-bone shrine.

788 [753] There is plenty of private pagan rituals, for example, to ward off illness, to make offerings to trees, and the dukun stuff. In addition, there is the bisa mari. (Having seen the dukun and how he diagnoses, I understand Migo when he said that he has a personal-family buffalo totem taboo because the dukun said it caused his illness.)

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601 does so. So much for the kinship system.

273 769 778 Then, incidentally, he said that an indispensable item at each sacrifice must be palm wine (tuak). Even if they have to travel for some distance to get some (and it is hard to get in the Veol area, as not much is made locally), they must do so; and the reason is that the stone, which is the central point of all rites, must have a libation poured over it. The ancestors are explicitly called, and then the tuak is poured over the stone as though into the mouth of a person which the stone is. Thus I think these stones are the ancestors. They are real idols. Note that the Vatu Veol, and the removed Ine Amba too, are, (or were) in human form. I think that perhaps the popularity of statues in Java after the Hindu influx may have been due to the pre-existence of human form stone images. The point is, in this libation business, the stones are treated as though they were really human.

582 578 835 In regard to the mother's brother's daughter or tungku marriage, this was formerly required, at least for one son. He might be forced brutally into such a marriage if he was reluctant. It should be the eldest son too. If [753] this is not done, the family may be afflicted with illness. And it is wicked anyway. This rule still holds, although force is no longer used to back it up. A good case is that of the assistant himself. He didn't like his mother's brother's daughter, as he said, "she lived in the house" (what psychological overtones are there here?). So he refused, and married his wife. However, he has two other brothers, who are still unmarried, and his whole family is watching anxiously until one of them marries the mother's brother's daughter. He says that they talk about this all the time. It is true that they are still pagan. His father indeed

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778 high hill, which is otherwise bare, like most
776 of the land here. It is taboo, as special
824 darat dwell here. And now I see many such sacred groves in the hills, carefully left when the land was cleared. It is as though they have to leave places here and there for the darat whose trees have been largely cut away. One has to watch out for feelings of the spirits always. The assistant also uses the word roro for spirits in general.

346 As the big timbers are carried in, the bear-
776 ers sing all the time, moving about slowly, and
533 telling the setan not to sit on the timber and
824 make it heavy. A small girl, elaborately dressed, sits on the timber, showing the setan that someone is already sitting there, so that they won't. A flag is set on the timber (now usually a merdeka, red and white flag) to show the kampong folk from two to three kilometers away that they are coming. In the kampong, they begin to beat gongs and drums "to receive the wood" into the kampong. They may not be quiet as the wood enters. There is much singing, etc.

[335] While the carpenters are at work with modern tools on the house, the gongs and drums are beaten constantly (technology and adat). There has been trouble here in Tjantjar with the tukang from Ruteng. The timbers were already set
[578] when an argument started over the contract, etc. Tempers rose, and the carpenters picked up their tools and left for Ruteng. I saw them on the road two days ago. Now the kampong folk are worried stiff because there lies the wood and there is the wood in the half-finished house, and nothing is being done. The wood may get impatient or angry, and if so they will always have trouble with the house. And this is important, as it is the main house, the cult house,
[753] of the kampong. Also, if the wood gets angry, there will be illness and all sorts of troubles.